825 themselves to a particular area. Throughout the year the lynx moves "anywhere" in search of rabbits. "He can't stay one place nothing." In cold weather the animal takes refuge in deep brush, that is also a good place for finding rabbits. The lynx breeds in March and drops its litter of up to six young in June. Marten winter in dens. In February, when this animal begins to breed, he travels a short distance. A marten's litter generally consists of six young.

A considerable body of knowledge is available concerning the moose and caribou. Both species are known to visit good mountain feeding grounds in spring. In early fall the moose returns from the high land in search of country where there is as yet no snow. The caribou comes down in early winter, driven to lower ground when the deep snow makes food hard to find. Considerable interest is manifested by men in when the bull moose begins to run, for then the animal becomes hard to kill and travels extensively. In summer, however, "just right. Stay one place. Easy get them." In addition, as already stated, both the cow and bull are fat in summer, and therefore delicious eating, while in winter only a cow has fat, the bull being lean and tough. To be edible a moose must be quickly killed. For this reason the meat of an animal killed by wolves is not eaten. Then "the moose die slow," Old Man explained, and the meat is filled with "foams." A popular belief, not much honored, regards moonlight as a good time to hunt moose. "Moose not smart that time," some people believe. Caribou are not expected in the river valleys until late December or early January. In the mountain rimmed country of the Upper Liard River their arrival is eagerly expected, for they promise abundant and easily obtained meat.

Any youth who has spent some time in the bush accompanied by an older man is in possession of many hints for hunters. Thus he knows that the best time to hunt squirrel is in the morning, when the animal feeds. In the latter part of the day "they lay down someplace." Spruce hens are easy to kill, since, when they are frightened, they fly only a short way. Willow grouse, on the other hand, fly a long distance if startled and are then difficult to locate. A man is warned that he must be cautious in hunting the wild goat. When this animal encounters danger, he sometimes lies down and pretends to be asleep but attacks as soon as the hunter comes close. Old Man recounted one such experience. "Pretty near I grab it with my knife. I mistake. Lucky I shoot. When you come close just throw themselves down like dead. When you come close they kill you."

824 *Ethnobotany.* The use of plants for medicine will be reported in connection with ideas about medicine. Knowledge of trees is relatively limited and connected with the practical utilization of forest products. Two kinds of spruce trees are distinguished, the red and black varieties. Both grow in soft ground, where there is plenty of deep soil, the wood being soft and easy to chop when dry. Dry red spruce makes a hot fire. Spruce is used for snowshoes because of its lightness, birch being regarded as too heavy for this purpose. Poplar grows on hard ground. "Damn good wood," said Nitla. "Damn best wood." The wood burns well when dry and easily worked when green. Like spruce, birch trees also grow in soft ground. When dry the wood is too heavy for a good fire, but its strength makes it particularly suitable for toboggans and sleighs. Hans Donnelly thought black birch to be inferior to the white variety for this purpose, because the former contains too many knots. Because of its susceptibility to rot, birch cannot be used for cabins. Jackpine grows on hard ground where ashes and rocks occur. Like cottonwood, it is valued as a hot, slow-burning fuel and is burned

in heaters even when green. Balsam is found in high mountains on rocky soil. The wood is good for fuel when dry and is easy to chop. The brush is particularly comfortable, its softness being compared to silk. People also regard the odor of balsam brush as highly pleasant. 824

Miscellaneous. Cosmic phenomena have stimulated relatively little speculative thinking among the Kaska. There is, for example, no clear idea if the moon and sun are male or female. Nitla had once vaguely heard that in May the moon is a woman. This may be a reflection of the Catholic belief regarding May as the month dedicated the Virgin Mary. There are no ideas of the moon affecting human behavior. The big August moon is a sign that game is fat but the planet itself does not influence the growth of game. Eclipses are noted with wonder but no interpretation of their cause or function could be obtained.* 821 177

Some men, notably Old Man and River Joe, possess a good knowledge of hydrographic phenomena, like the ability to "read water," which has been derived from long experience working on traders' river boats. It is widely recognized that rivers like the Liard, which rise in mountains, freeze quickly. On the other hand, rivers like the Frances and Dease, which have their sources in large lakes, take longer to ice over. People desire river ice to form quickly, as this assures a smooth surface that is ideal for toboggan travel. In hauling wood on sleighs and toboggans, the vehicles are often run on the smooth shore ice of rivers. 823 [315]

Directions are not related to the cardinal points and few Indians could indicate north or south. References to direction are generally by the courses of rivers or by known landmarks identified with place names.

HUMAN ORGANISM

In this section are reported knowledge and attitudes concerning the structure and functioning of the human body as well as information, based on reports, observation, and clinical testing, regarding socially patterned psychological processes. It is obvious that some of the data consists of popular, scarcely formalized beliefs, which may vary considerably between different individuals, especially between members of different tribal districts. Some of the ideas may be survivals of aboriginal conceptions. These, however, in contemporary Kaska thought are associated with attitudes which have undoubtedly been acquired from missionaries and other white men. As in the case of religion, no attempt has been made to classify aboriginal retentions apart from introduced ideas, our purpose being to describe the content of knowledge regardless of its sources. 128 177

Bodily Structure and Function

The pattern of human growth is compared to the development of other aspects of nature. "Anything in the ground he grow. Soon big grow; no more he grow. Injun just the same." Growth of the body is a function of bone development. Girls mature more rapidly than boys. 856 827

Weather, food, and heredity are the principal factors determining the growth process. Summer is a more favorable period for human development than winter, so again it would seem as though the organism is viewed as developing in harmony with the rest of the

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* Nitla remembered an eclipse of the moon which he had witnessed two years previously. He still recalls the phenomenon with wonder. See his autobiographical sketch below, p. [illegible].

754 cording to Nick: "Now people like white man; he don't know." A residual faith in witchcraft may persist among the Nelson Indians. As Old Man somewhat unwillingly stated: "Looks like some people still believe it. I know Nick Lang still believe it." Following the dysentery epidemic of 1944 in the Nelson Indian district, Old Man heard Mary Wiley report: "The people pretty bad yet. They talk about witch." During a discussion of the sporadic cases of dysentery occurring in the summer of 1945 one young man spoke up and said: "Too much war; too much blood. That brings out sickness. Too much people killed."

753 757 Some of these theories of disease are at least partially empirically demonstrable. However, even where empirical beliefs apply, as for instance in connection with cold and tuberculosis, they do not necessarily influence therapeutic or hygienic measures. Isolation of the patient is not practiced in conjunction with these illnesses. Little attempt is made to prevent wetting or chilling, except in very cold weather, and in fall children often spend entire days in wet moccasins. Walking long distances in wet brush is avoided whenever possible, but this precaution is generally more a matter of comfort than of preventive medicine.

753 It is worth pointing out that there is a greater tendency to explain illness in empirical terms than to attribute it to supernatural causation. The typical methods of reacting to sickness, however, are to do nothing, use what patent medicines are available, or refer the patient to white medical attention. Although there is a tendency to defend against anxiety and fear by making light of sickness, there can be little question but that it is usually intensely anxiety provoking to the patient. Undoubtedly this fear of illness is related to the inadequate control which the society experiences over disease. It may also be related to the fear of incapacitation, which can be expected to assume serious proportions when an adult is extremely dependent on his own resources to make a living and where mobility is of paramount economic importance.

757 278 Most of the medical therapy performed by the Indians is with the aid of patent medicines obtained from stores. A high degree of faith is invested in such preparations and several assorted bottles are often purchased in the fall to be used for what illnesses appear during the winter. The most commonly used patent medicines include cough remedies, liniment, [271] dysentery remedies, castor oil, stomach tonic, liver pills, fruit salts, and Listerine; the latter, however, is largely consumed in lieu of other alcoholic potables. Lozenges for coughs are often purchased and Vicks Vaporub is popular for colds and chest coughs. Aspirin is not commonly bought. Epsom salts are used to "clean the blood" by removing "bad water" from the intestines. River Joe drank a compound of fruit salts daily for this purpose.

757 [illegible] 278 Indigenous medication is limited to the use of a few plant products, like balsam pitch, balsam bark, raspberry bush, and willow buds, as well as inhalation, exercise, and the application of heat.

Balsam pitch is firmly believed in for its medicinal properties, but is not readily accessible in the river valleys where most of the people's time is spent. In the fall of 1945, while hunting in the Simpson Mountains, Old Man secured some balsam pitch and put a little in his weak eyes. The pain was intense at first but in the morning he found his sight greatly improved. He did not repeat the treatment, as no more balsam was immediately available. Application of balsam pitch is also recommended for impetigo and other skin diseases. The bark of the balsam tree boiled in water and drunk is said to be an effective cure for coughs

and for pain near the heart. A cup or two of the stems of the raspberry plant boiled in 757
water provides a cathartic. For a skin irritation on the back of her knees, Elsie Lang was 824
advised by her grandmother, Mrs. Man, to apply a poultice made of fresh or dried boiled 278
fireweed. Two handfuls of willow buds boiled with a pint of water for about twenty minutes in a discarded food tin (the buds discolor metal when boiled) make a medicine that will cure cold. Doses should be taken at regular intervals. A willow-like plant, known as "moose brush" and growing along the upper reaches of Dease River, is highly regarded for its medicinal efficacy. The stems of the plant are boiled for several hours and the effusion drunk for chest pain and cough. The solution may also be used for washing sore eyes. Stems are kept for reuse, but are discarded after several boilings.

The inhalation of the fumes of dog urine is a popular remedy for cold. A person watches 757
for a place where dogs urinate and collects the soaked wood or brush to use in creating a 278
smudge. People walk back and forth through the fumes, breathing them. This treatment is also thought to be effective in preventing cold. When Louis Maza's baby showed a swollen neck, the father suggested an "old fashioned" remedy. A hot rock, heated in the oven and wrapped in a towel, was applied to the sore area. Exercise is sometimes recommended for therapy. Following a long period of illness from cough and cold, Old Man set out on a five mile walk, planning to fish upon arrival at his destination. "I figger if my blood work, I'm all right."

CONCLUSIONS

It is not likely that any analysis of Kaska ideational culture made with reference to the 886
criteria of adaptive and adjustive efficiency will reward us with greater insight than we have already derived. As a matter of fact, although many of the ideas which we have just discussed may potentially be of great utility in making a living, their value depends upon their behavioral application; to discuss the manner in which the Kaska apply their empirical knowledge, for example, would require repetition of much that we have already said concerning the Indians' style of life.

Therefore, in concluding the description of Kaska culture, we shall be content with 182
briefly sketching the structural relationship of a few aspects of ideational to technical and [122]
social behaviors. The ideal virtues of men and women, for example, are clarified when the industriousness and skill ideally expected of the man are considered alongside the nature of the male's economic routines and their significance for survival. The Indians are aware of the necessity for hard work in the business of getting a living but do not practice as much as they believe. The economic importance of a woman's industriousness is also revealed in the ethical standards, indicating how important feminine labor is seen to be in conjunction with the man's economic role. Despite men's statements that they can live independently, both sexes are clearly expected to supplement one another, as they actually do. From another point of view, the relative simplicity and unelaboration of ideational material may itself be regarded as functionally related to the primacy of the food quest in the life of the society. Intensive speculation, whether religious or empirical, requires sufficient leisure for at least part of a society plus an intellectual tradition on which to build. Both these conditions are lacking for the people of the Cassiar. Even the sexual life is influenced by the economic pat-

cing to lead to tentative experimentation), is too complex for tinkering and repairing. Long 181^{x} hours are spent overhauling outboard motors and only as a last resort, when some precisely 157 fitting piece is damaged beyond repair, will the task be abandoned and a new part purchased. 813 A broken ax handle or a shattered snowshoe never suggest the abandonment of a journey, for such accidents can always be repaired with commonplace tools, a splint of willow, and a few feet of babiche. Several men reported encountering moose and caribou while traveling without a knife and butchering the animals with an ax. On one occasion Old Man retrieved the shell of the cartridge that had brought down the animal; then, using an ax, he beat the brass into a crude blade, fabricating an instrument with which to finish the butchering.

Utilitarianism is the personality factor on which the society relies for maintaining the mobility which is of paramount importance for economic survival. Considerable practical and ingenious thinking is displayed toward this end. For example, to lighten the weight of guns, men often saw down a rifle barrel, afterwards fitting the weapon with new sights which are then carefully tested in target shooting. A shortened barrel reduces the firing power of a weapon (it is not known if the Indians are aware of this limitation), but also makes the gun more comfortable for long marches in brushy country. Spruce wood, selected in preference to harder birch, for snowshoes represents a similar empirical and utilitarian approach to convenient travel. The prevalent use of bags and similar lightweight containers for food and clothing is another practical adaptation to the economic necessity of free mobility. One autumn, the failure of an outboard motor caused self-sufficiency to be strikingly applied to securing movement when, after a protracted period of delay, Harry Lang and his brother-in-law finally tracked and poled their boat more than fifty miles upriver from the Highway [505] Crossing to Old Man's settlement. Their solution was the only one that could get them home while the bull moose still retained his fat and before the enforced delay, in an area where there was little game, consumed too much winter grub.

Utilitarianism, defined as a practical, functional approach to living, also shapes the 191^{x} attitudes towards acculturation in technical culture. We have already pointed out that the 157 Kaska have been far more ready to borrow technological improvements than they have been to modify adjustive patterns of behavior. This acculturative set is associated with an utilitarian motivated absence of sentimentality for the aboriginal style of adaptation. This may explain the receptiveness which Morice has regarded as a characteristic trait of Athapaskan society.* To the utilitarian personality, the past represents a hard way of life, while newer ways of working, traveling, and general living quickly suggest their advantages.

Empirical attention to the zoological, botanical, and bodily environments too stems from 824 utilitarian considerations, giving the practically important habits of animals far greater sig- 157 nificance than other aspects of behavior. Kaska ethnobotany is a system of knowledge 191^{x} almost exclusively concerned with the economic values of woods coupled with more obvious observations of habitat. Beyond this, interest is limited. For example, Nitla could give no explanation of how trees maintained themselves or the manner in which they reproduced. Esoteric speculation and mysticism with regard to weather and in connection with sickness and death receive little elaborate development. Interest in such phenomena

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* Morice, The Fur Trader in Anthropology; and a Few Related Questions (1928), 77.

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157 is primarily determined by practical and immediate considerations—their value to ego's
181 self-sufficiency or their threat to his efficient functioning.

The strongly developed practical interest in adaptation leads the Indian to neglect
157 beauty and to be unresponsive to perfectionism as an end in itself—that is, above and be-
517 yond the degree required for utility. Embroidery on moccasins, mittens, and gloves is re-
181 duced to a minimum or often lacking. Only one or two women enjoy a reputation for fancy sewing, although many more are acknowledged as skillful, practical dressmakers. Ours are particularly crude and unfinished. Experiments made to deduce the emotional aspects of cultural products in connection with clothing and housing consistently revealed qualities of simplicity and unperfection. Mittens, moccasins, and children's underwear, without being fitted to the wearer's dimensions, are cut with a general impression of size, allowing a little extra so that the final product is always somewhat larger than necessary. The style is baggy, the garment only crudely shaped to the body. Analysis of several log cabins reveals a striking lack of perfectionism. In one cabin some roof poles are partly hewed while many are not hewed at all. Where the logs join at the corners they are often not all sawed off to
[358] equal length. Another cabin is only half floored. The interiors of most houses are not painted or otherwise finished. Such housing style permits the inference that the people's primary concern is with utility, adequacy of a structure being defined primarily in terms of the build-
[312] ing's use for the obvious function of weather protection. Thus we find walls lined with cardboard to keep out drafts, and moss chinking far more prevalent than the more finished-looking chinking with pole cleats which many white men use. It may be pointed out, however, that the increasing use of mill sawed lumber, which is easier to manipulate than logs, is resulting in larger and, in some cases, more finished looking cabins. While the neglect of nonfunctional artistic production may be partly determined by the fact that Kaska society has not been able to develop leisure time patterns of self-expression, any total picture of this neglect must also take into consideration the dominant motivation toward utility. It is consistent with configurational thinking that such personality values should be developed in members of a society forced to live under rigorous environmental conditions, where energy has to be largely confined to adaptation.

181 Attitudes condemning waste may be partly ascribed to utilitarian considerations. Food
157 leftovers, instead of being discarded or fed to dogs, are preserved for future meals. At the
[illegible] first potlatch, food remains returned by the servers were scraped from dishes and, after being mixed with the contents of the cooking pots, were served again. Similar economy is revealed toward the possessions of the dead. Destruction of death goods is minimal; only worn or soiled clothes are burned. Valuable goods (like a sleeping robe) are freed from contagion by washing or by allowing a period of time to dissolve the association between object and deceased owner.

Social sanctions supporting utilitarian resourcefulness are not lacking. Both the ideal man and woman are skillful. Young men are quietly proud of their technological achievements and older men of their special technical abilities. A skillful individual is selected for favorable comment and is also favored by a prospective parent-in-law, while an unskillful youth has his behavior deplored. More important than the social recognition of these attributes is the fact that practical skills and ingenuity greatly lighten the individual's adaptive problems, guarantee his comfort, and contribute to survival.

After obtaining manitous they solicited them specially. 881 787
Some lads developed or obtained a good deal of knowledge during their training; some developed shamanistic knowledge and became nearly as knowing as some shamans. Some obtained the knowledge of seeing things which were distant, and could tell what had happened to things stolen or lost and where these things were. They could also tell what people were doing, although these people were absent and far away. Some others seem to have obtained knowledge of doing certain things more by practice in the doing of these things than by any knowledge directly imparted by their manitous. However, in cases like these, it was supposed (at least by some) the powers of their manitous really helped them secretly to achieve success in their undertakings. 754
Some lads who desired to be lucky hunters practised the "cutting of tongues", like some who desired to be shamans (see under shamans)[a]. However most lads desiring to be good hunters prayed to become such and practised the real hunting of game. Those desiring to be good gamblers prayed to be such and at the same time practised the games of chance so as to become adept at them. Several kinds of roots were considered to be good charms for obtaining luck in games. Lads dug up different kinds 881 787 524 778

[a] Editor's note: /The section on shamans is not included in this typescript; apparently the writing was never completed./

778 of roots and tested them as charms. Those they had no
881 luck with they discarded, whilst perhaps one or two
787 they adopted as charms because they found, whenever
524 they used them, they had luck in playing. A charm
good for one individual might be no good for another
and vice versa. Some lads who desired to be good
881 warriors prayed to be such and practised mimic warfare.
778 They also looked for charms or something which would
lend them power and help them to win. At last they
would light on something which would be of value.
Eagle feathers gave the winning power to many and therefore a number of men when going to battle wore eagle
881 feathers. Lads desiring to be shamans practised curing
756 of the sick. They had more to learn than others, for
to become a strong shaman required much knowledge and
generally this could not be obtained excepting by long
and hard training. (For some practices of lads learning
881 to be shamans, see under shamans) Having obtained a
778 manitou, the lad later hunted the animal or bird representation of his manitou. Having killed one he kept
787 the skin. It seems by a person keeping the skin near
him or in his possession there was created a greater
bond between the man and his manitou and the latter
exercised a kind of guardian influence on the former.
881 No shooting, running, jumping and other similar ceremonies such as practised by adolescent youths of the

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND18

Upper Liard

221 nated" in firmly built dwellings and subsisted on fish. Around the turn of the year "young fellows" set out to obtain dried meat from the caches which in some instances might be located 30 or more miles away. For most of the people winter remained a period of limited mobility and relaxed social intercourse. Sometimes, however, fishing failed and then the meat caches were quickly depleted. If fresh fishing sites proved equally unproductive the groups sought to make contact with another band, one that had been more fortunate in finding food. At such times men climbed to high places and scanned the horizons for smoke which in winter would be visible for long distances. Often it must have happened that all the neighbors in a tribal territory found themselves short of food, perhaps due to the cyclic fluctuation of the animal population. In such years, again like the other animals, the human population of the Cassiar also shrank. Thus a balance was kept between the people and the environment's resources. With the lengthening days of spring, the snow crusted and there came another favorable time to pursue game. Now beaver provided an important source of food, the people separating to travel to family-owned beaver creeks. Upon the break-up of the river ice the beaver and muskrat quit their dwellings to travel. That served as a cue for the Indians to build or recover canoes. Then once more they reassembled around a fish lake, where the hot summer was passed renewing friendships. This is a brief summary of the food quest and annual cycle, whose routines remain to be described in greater detail. The focus of the cycle was on food. One informant clearly recognized this when he remarked, "Old timers thought about nothing—just something to eat."

805 In the calendar of the community one sees more specifically the relationship between the people and environment, as well as the note taken of the seasonal changes. The year was divided as follows:

kliˀaleyesa (January)—"dog burning moon." The term refers to the intense cold which caused dogs to get too close to the fire so that they sometimes burned themselves.

haˀeyasa (February)—"rabbit eating as an" (R). Also tsyedesa, "cold one moon" (X).

atsas (March)—"eagle coming moon" (R). Also called atikasa, "moon when everything [i.e., game] comes to this country" (X).

tatasasa (April)—"snow crusts moon" (R). Also tikasa, "everything here moon" (X).

A reference for the period corresponding to May could not be obtained.

ayasasa (June)—"egg moon."

akatsasaia (July)—"game moults moon."

atsasasa (August)—"fat game moon" (R) or ctidigasa, "everything ready, everything fat moon" (X).

atsdiitsilsa (September)—"leaves color moon."

ˀustelsa (October)—"female ground hog moon."

natsitsilsa (November)—"little finger moon." So called because "its soft, everything is cool and yet not too cold."

tinitcosa (December)—"Christmas (?) moon."

222 The Indians secured food through gathering, trapping, hunting, and fishing. Girls
● 824 and women did the principal collecting, although men also sought vegetable products
262 in the course of walking through a favorable area while hunting. Berries were the main items sought by collectors and included, in approximate order of frequency, the soap berry, high- and low-bush cranberry, salmon berry, raspberry, strawberry, currants, and

4: Honigmann E-3 (1942-1943)1954 ND12 Nelson ND13

Upper Liard

blueberry. Other vegetable products taken from the land included two roots in spring; lily bulbs; mushrooms, frequently stolen from a squirrel's cache; [illegible] that grew up in the mountains and were described as tasting somewhat like turnips; wild onions, of which only the greens were eaten; rose petals, made into a beverage by boiling; and wild rhubarb. Both sexes chewed gum taken from a "half dead" spruce tree, a choice advised by the fact that such gum would not stick to the teeth. Jack pine and spruce [illegible] were also eaten but wood, birch [illegible], willow buds, wild rye, and wild peas held no place in the diet. Birch sap, obtained by tapping the birch in spring, ranked as a minor delicacy but people ignored poplar sap. Children kept the camp supplied with water, securing it from the river or in the form of snow. Warmed moose milk was sometimes drunk. 2.3.3. [2.4 2.6.2. [3.4]

Flesh food could be secured with the least expenditure of energy by setting traps, including snares, deadfalls, nets, and, perhaps, pitfalls. For bear the Indian located a snare made of braided babiche (as many as eight strands of [illegible] skin line might be used) near a berry patch, while for moose and caribou he placed similar snares between trees and across the runways which these animals had made in the course of visiting drinking places and salt licks. Fences were sometimes extended from either side of a moose or caribou snare. At other times trappers thrust two forked poles into the ground and across them suspended a toggle pole twelve feet long and three inches in diameter. From the toggle hung a caribou snare while on either side a fence directed the animal into the trap. Men always set moose and caribou snares. "Even if a woman knew how to make a caribou snare she could not make it good enough." For lynx a semicircle of poles with a narrow opening for the snare was anchored in the ground. A single strand of babiche had sufficient strength to hold this animal. Such snares might be erected by women. In mountain passes through which mountain sheep trails ran [illegible] line toggle snares for sheep. Often the poles used in this work had to be packed long distances above timberline. Up to six strands of babiche were twisted together to make a snare line strong enough for that animal. For beaver, men (and also women) set snares of three-strand twisted babiche near a dam. 2.3.4 [6.6]

Ground hog snares featured a rock toggle and required two-strand twisted babiche. The family provided itself with a number of six to seven-foot long forked poles in the fall and packed them above the timberline. The trapper family planned one such pole for each snare in a rock slide near a ground hog den. On either side of the pole ran a small fence about a foot high. After forming the snare loop between these fences, the snare line was bent and tripped around a small trigger stick before continuing through the fork of the pole. Halfway below the fork the line was weighted with a [illegible] rock. The trigger stick was fitted under a convenient knob or protuberance on the upright pole, the toggle's weight serving to keep it fixed until an animal entered the snare and dislodged the stick, whereupon the rock fell to the ground. The weight of the falling toggle lifted the animal off the earth. In timbered areas lifting-pole snares like those frequently used for rabbits were also set for ground hog. In fact, the rock toggle appears to represent an adaptation of the lifting-pole principle to treeless country. Men, boys, and women built ground hog snares. 3.2.4 (6.6)

Upper Liard
Dease River